

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03016 01 OF 04 121447 Z

44

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 051938

P R 121352 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8429

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 307

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 VIENNA 3016

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF APRIL 11

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: APRIL 11 AD HOC GROUP FOCUSSED ON DISCUSSION OF APRIL 10 BILATERALS, DRAFT REPORT TO NATO, AND HOW DRAFT REPORT WOULD BE SUBMITTED. US REP REPORTED APRIL 10 CONVERSATION WITH KVITSINSKIY WHEREIN LATTER SAID SOVIETS WERE HAVING TROUBLE GETTING THE PROPOSAL APPROVED IN MOSCOW, PREDICTED APPROVAL WOULD BE FORTHCOMING ALTHOUGH REQUIRING POLITBURO CONSIDERATION; SPECULATED ALLIES MIGHT NOT HEAR UNTIL APRIL 13. ON KVITSINSKIY' S SUGGESTION THAT EASTERN PROCEDURES PAPER BE PUT FORWARD AS JOINTLY DRAFTED QUAD-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03016 01 OF 04 121447 Z

RILATERAL PRODUCT, US REP TOLD KVITSINSKIY THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF NEED TO BRACKET TEXT. KVITSINSKIY ALSO SAID THAT AGENDA CAN ONLY BE DISCUSSED AFTER PARTICIPATION ISSUE IS SOLVED.

DRAFT REPORT OF NETHERLANDS AND US REPS TO NATO WHICH RECOMMENDS APPROVAL OF APRIL 7 SOVIET PROPOSAL, IF IT IS CONFIRMED THIS WEEK BY SOVIETS, WAS SUPPORTED BY FRG, ITALIAN, CANADIAN, AND DANISH REPS. BELGIAN REP GAVE MORE CIRCUMSPECT BUT POSITIVE REACTION. UK REP SAID HE COULD NOT SUPPORT. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT EMISSARIES HAD USED EVERY CONCEIVABLE ARGUMENT IN ATTEMPTING TO PUT FORWARD NAC POSITION AND THAT SOVIETS HAD COME CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE FROM POSITIONS THEY HELD AT OUTSET. THERE APPEARED TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ALLIES HAD ESSENTIALLY FORECLOSED ITALIAN INCLUSION, AND ACHIEVED RIGHT TO DISCUSS HUNGARY AGAIN IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES.

CENTRAL POINT OF DISAGREEMENT LED BY THE UK AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE BELGIANS, CONCERNED STATUS OF THE REPORT. UK REP POINTED OUT THAT BRITISH AUTHORITIES WOULD BE UNABLE TO AGREE WITH CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT IT BE SUBMITTED ON THE PERSONAL AUTHORITY OF THE TWO EMISSARIES WITH A BRIEF COVERING LETTER INDICATING THAT REPORT WAS NOT APPROVED BY GROUP AS A WHOLE. ITALIAN AND CANADIAN REPS AND OTHERS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BEST TO TRY TO ACHIEVE A COMMON REPORT. APPARENT OUTCOME AT THIS STAGE APPEARS TO BE THAT REPORT OF NETHERLANDS AND US EMISSARIES WILL BE TRANSMITTED INTACT UNDER COVER OF NEUTRAL FORMULA WHICH WILL NOT SUGGEST EITHER APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL BY AD HOC GROUP. END SUMMARY.

2. BILATERALS: CHAIRMAN (GRANCE OF CANADA) OPENED MEETING WITH REQUEST THAT GROUP MEMBERS REPORT ON BILATERALS FROM 10 APRIL RECEPTION AT THE BELGIAN EMBASSY. US REP REPORTED THAT KVITSINSKIY TOLD HIM THAT SOVIETS WERE STILL HAVING TROUBLE GETTING THEIR PROPOSAL APPROVED IN MOSCOW. KVITSINSKIY, HOWEVER, PREDICTED THAT APPROVAL WOULD BE FORTHCOMING, ALTHOUGH THE FACT THAT APPROVAL WAS REQUIRED AT A HIGH LEVEL COULD MEAN THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT HEAR UNTIL 13 APRIL. WHEN PRESSED BY US REP, KVITSINSKIY INDICATED THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE A POLITBURO DECISION. KVITSINSKIY HAD INDICATED THAT MOSCOW BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS REQUIRING A DISPROPORTIONATE ONE-SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03016 01 OF 04 121447 Z

SIDED COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE EAST AND SUGGESTED THAT

THE EASTERN PROCEDURES PAPER BE PUT FORTH AS A JOINTLY DRAFTED PRODUCT OF THE QUADRILATERAL MEETINGS. US REP TOLD KVITSINSKIY THAT THIS COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS BECAUSE BRACKETS WOULD REAPPEAR IN THE TEXT. KVITSINSKIY HAD SAID THAT MOSCOW WOULD WANT CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE ALLIED STATEMENT. THE US REP HAD REPLIED THAT IN THAT EVENT THE WEST WOULD ALSO WANT CHANGES IN THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT. ON AGENDA, KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT IT COULD ONLY BE DISCUSSED AFTER THE PARTICIPATION QUESTION WAS SOLVED. HE ADDED THAT SOVIETS HAD INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW TO GET AN AGENDA, ALTHOUGH HE KNEW THAT SOME ALLIED REPS HAD BEEN TALKING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONDUCTING INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON AGENDA ITEMS. THE US REP SAID THAT HE HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION FROM KVITSINSKIY THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE FAVORABLE TO AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF AGENDA.

3. TURKISH REP (TULUMEN) ASKED WHETHER KVITSINSKIY HAD SUGGESTED POSTPONING THE NEXT QUADRILATERAL MEETING AND US REP REPLIED THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD RAISED THE POSSIBILITY. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) RAISED QUESTION ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE FORUM FOR DISCUSSING THE AGENDA. THE US REP REPLIED THAT SOVIET POSITION WAS NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT.

4. CANADIAN REP REPORTED ON A CONVERSATION WITH LAHODA (CZECHOSLOVAKIAN REP) WHICH SUGGESTED THE EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT OPINIONS AMONG THE EASTERN DELS ABOUT THE AGENDA. LAHODA HOPED THAT THERE WOULD ONLY BE ONE MORE PLENARY. CANADIAN REP NOTED THE POLISH VIEW THAT SUCH AGREEMENT WOULD BE DESIRABLE AND ASKED LAHODA IF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WANTED AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA. LAHODA TOLD CANADIAN REP NOT TO WORRY ABOUT THE POLES, ADDING THAT THE CZECHS WOULD BE HAPPY IF THE AGENDA WERE NOT DISCUSSED. US REP COMMENTED THAT HUNGARIAN REP (USTOR) HAD SUGGESTED DURING A RECENT QUADRILATERAL THAT DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA BE CARRIED OVER TO THE FALL NEGOTIATIONS. FRG DEP REP (HOFMANN) SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION FROM SEVERAL EASTERN DELS THAT CONSULTATIONS ON PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPATION WERE REACHING A STAGE THAT COULD BE WRAPPED UP BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK.

5. ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI) REPORTING ON A CONVERSATION BETWEEN PETRIGNANI (ITALIAN REP) AND USTOR SAID THAT PETRIGNANI GAINED THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 03016 01 OF 04 121447 Z

SECRET

ADP000
SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03016 02 OF 04 121510 Z

53

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 052150

P R 121352 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8430

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 308

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 VIENNA 3016

GENEVA FOR DISTO
FROM US REP MBFR

IMPRESSION THAT USTOR IS AWARE OF THE TEXT OF THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT ADVANCED BY THE SOVIETS ON APRIL 7 WHICH AVOIDED SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ITALY. PETRIGNANI HAD REMARKED THAT THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT WOULD BE ALRIGHT WITHOUT A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ITALY AND USTOR HAD REPLIED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO DEVISE SOME METHOD TO GET AROUND THIS PROBLEM. US REP COMMENTED THAT THIS SUGGESTS THAT MOSCOW HAS OBTAINED HUNGARIAN CONSENT TO MOVE AWAY FROM A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ITALY. TURKISH REP REPORTED THAT TIMERBAYEV HAD APPARENTLY TRIED TO PROBE HIM TO DETERMINE IF TURKS KNEW ABOUT THE APRIL 7 MEETING AND THE STATEMENT CONTAINING NO REFERENCE TO ITALY. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) COMMENTED THAT STRULAK (POLISH REP) APPARENTLY KNEW OF THE APRIL 7 MEETING AND WHAT HAD BEEN ADVANCED THEN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03016 02 OF 04 121510 Z

6. BELGIAN REP (ADREAENSSEN) REPORTED THAT MANY EASTERN DELOFFS HAD APPROVED HIM ASKING WHETHER HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. HE CONCLUDED FROM THIS THAT THE EAST WAS TRYING TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE THEMSELVES VERY OPTIMISTIC. CANADIAN REP COMMENTED THAT LAHODA HAD SAID THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO BE HERE UNTIL MID- MAY OR POSSIBLY LATER. LAHODA ALSO MENTIONED THAT WHILE CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS WERE TRYING TO MAKE A NAME FOR THEMSELVES AT THE PRESENT TALKS, HE WAS NOT.

7. DRAFT REPORT TO NATO: NETHERLANDS REP STATED HE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH US REP ON ALL POINTS OF THE DRAFT REPORT, SHARED THE EVALUATION THAT NOTHING MORE COULD BE SQUEEZED FROM THE SOVIETS AT THIS TIME, AND CONCURRED WITH THE RECOMMENDATION. HE WISHED TO ADD THAT THE SOLUTION WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED TO THE WESTERN EMISSARIES CONTAINS A WORKABLE BASIS FOR FUTURE HUNGARIAN INVOLVEMENT; GIVES WEST IN PRACTICE WHAT WE HAVE BEEN ASKING FOR -- TO LEAVE HUNGARIAN ISSUE ABSOLUTELY OPEN -- AND SHOWS THAT WE NEED NO LONGER RAISE QUESTION OF HUNGARY OR DEAL WITH IT SEPARATELY, BUT RATHER ONLY IN RELATION TO CONCRETE MEASURES OR DECISIONS. AS FAR AS THE ITALIAN ISSUE IS CONCERNED, WE HAVE GIVEN EAST NO JURIDICAL BASIS TO RAISE IT. HE ADDED THAT NOTHING WAS PERFECT; THIS PROPOSAL WAS NOT EITHER; NOTHING CAN BE DEFINITIVE. IT IS LIKELY THAT AMBIGUITY WILL PREVAIL THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS. NATURALLY IDEAL SOLUTION FROM NATO POINT OF VIEW WOULD HAVE BEEN FULL PARTICIPATION FOR HUNGARY, BUT ALL AGREE NOW THAT THIS IS UNOBTAINABLE. PRINCIPAL BENEFITS FROM PROBES HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING STRENGTH OF ALLIANCE COHESION WHICH PERMITTED EMISSARIES TO PRESS ISSUES AGAIN AND AGAIN. THE ROLE OF ITALY WAS CLEARLY DEFINED AND, IN SUBSTANCE, ALLIES HAD OBTAIN WESTERN OBJECTIVE, I. E., HUNGARY IN ABEYANCE.

8. US REP REMINDED GROUP THAT THERE HAD BEEN 19 MEETINGS WITH THE OTHER SIDE AND 13 SINCE MARCH 13. HE STRESSED THAT, WITHOUT DEPARTING FROM NAC INSTRUCTIONS, EMISSARIES HAD USED EVERY CONCEIVABLE WAY OF EXPRESSING AND PRESSING FOR ACCEPTANCE OF ALLIED POSITION WHICH INGENUITY COULD DEVISE. IN LATEST PROPOSAL, THE OTHER SIDE HAD MOVED TO POINT WHICH LEAVES OPEN WAY FOR INVOLVEMENT OF HUNGARY. APPARENT SOVIET NEED TO PUT PRESENT POSITION UP TO POLITBURO IS EVIDENCE THAT THIS IS AN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03016 02 OF 04 121510 Z

IMPORTANT MATTER AND SUGGESTS THAT SOVIETS AT LEAST CONSIDER THAT THEY HAVE MADE A MAJOR CONCESSION. COMMENTS FROM INDIVIDUAL WESTERN DELEGATES ABOUT WARSAW PACT ATTITUDES PLUS

HIS OWN IMPRESSION O THESE QUADRILATERALS SUGGEST THAT SOVIETS
ARE INTERESTED IN THESE TALKS. FINALLY, THERE SEEMS TO BE NO
OTHER WAY FOR KEEPING THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE OPEN.

9. CANADIAN REP THOUGHT THAT REPORT WAS EXCELLENT DRAFT, RE-
ITERATED THAT ALLIED COHESION HAD BEEN MAINTAINED AND THOUGHT
THAT EMISSARIES WOULD NOT HAVE GOTTEN AS MUCH AS THEY HAVE IF
THEY HAD NOT STUCK TO POSITIONS ADVISED BY AD HOC GROUP.
TURKISH REP NOTED AS GENERAL COMMENT THAT REPORT CONTAINS NO
REFERENCE TO EMISSARIES ESPOUSAL OF FORMULATION " STATES HAVING
TERRITORIES OR FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE" IN DISCUSSION IN
REPORT, ADDING THAT THEIR LAST VERSION OF CO- OPTION FORMULA
WAS A WAY OF EMBODYING COUNCIL GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT. UK
REP SAID HE HAD NO GENERAL COMMENT BECAUSE REPORT, IN HIS
VIEW, WAS BEING SUBMITTED ON THE PERSONAL
E E E E E E E

ADP000
SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03016 03 OF 04 121524 Z

44

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 052269

P R 121352 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8431
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 309
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 VIENNA 3016

DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

11. DISCUSSION OF CONCLUSION BEGAN WITH GREEK REP' S OBJECTION TO
STATEMENT THAT THE " CIRCLE OF PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE LIMITED TO
THE 19 NOW IN VIENNA. HE WONDERED WHETHER THIS WAS ACTUALLY TRUE,

POINTING OUT THAT SOVIETS MAY BE CONTEMPLATING BRINGING IN FRANCE AND, IN HIS VIEW, CO- OPTION FORMULA MAKES THIS POSSIBLE. IS REP POINTED TO OTHER PORTIONS F THE REPORT WHICH SPECIFY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS' ABILITY TO BLOCK ADMISSION. HE REMINDED GROUP OF SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT IN RASING CO- OPTION FORMULA THEY DID NOT HAVE GREEK OR TURKISH PARTICIPATION IN MIND.

12. FRG REP ASKED THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE FRG DESCRIPTION AND SEATING ISSUE NOT BE LISTED AS AN ACHIEVEMENT. HE THOUGHT SOVIETS HAD RAISED THIS POINT AS TACTICAL PLOY. MAINTENANCE OF THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03016 03 OF 04 121524 Z

FRG POSITION WAS NOT A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT. US REP THOUGHT THAT THIS CONTROVERSY HAD BEEN POTENTIALLY TROUBLESOME BUT AGREED THAT REFERENCE TO IT BE STRUCK. QUALIFYING THIS POINT AS " IM- PORTANT FOR SOME ALLIES," TURKISH REP ASKEDT THT DESCRIPTION OF NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL INCLUDE ABSENCE FROM ENLARGE- MENT FORMULA OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO STATES WITH FORCES AND TERRI- TORY IN CENETRAL EUROPE. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE PRINCIPAL NEGATIVE FEATURE OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS, OF COURSE, LISTING HUNGARY AS SPECIAL PARTICIPANT. HE DOUBTED THAT SOVIET FAILURE TOAGREE TO REFERNCE TO STATES WITH FORCES OR TERRITORY IN CENTRAL EUORPE IN CO- OPTION FORMULA REALLY HAD THE SAME WEIGHT BUT AGREED, GIVEN ITS IMPORTANCE, TO RECORD THIS POINT APPROPRIATELY ELSEWHERE IN THE TEXT. COMMENTING ON REPORT' S MENTION THAT THE PHRASE " APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS" IN THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT PROPOSED BY THE SOVIETS SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS MERELY AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO ITALY, NETHERLAND SREP ASKED THAT THEIDEA BE INSERTED IN TEXT THAT THE STATUS OF ALLIED FLANK STATES HAD NOT BEEN COMPROMISE IN ANY WAY.

13. METHOD OF TRANSMISSION OF REPORT TO NATO: ACTING FRG REP SAID THAT GIVEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD RECEIVED APPROVAL OF THEIR PAPER FROM MOSCOW WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS, THE GROUP SHOULD BEGIN TO CONSIDER WHAT IT WILL DO NEXT. IN HIS VIEW THE GROUP COULD EITHER REACH QUICK AGREEMENT TO EMBODY THE RECOM- MENDATIONS OF THE WESTERN SPOKESMEN IN A GROUP REPORT TOT THE NAC, OR ALTERNATIVELY, THE GROUP MIGHT NOT DEVELOP AGREED RECOMMENDATIONS.

IN THE LATTER EVENT WHY SHOULD THE GROUP HAVE TO ENGAGE INA A DISCUSSION WHICH WOULD ONLY FORESHADOW A DISCUSSION IN THE NAC. IN HIS VIEW THE WESTERN SPEOKESMEN SHOULD SUBMIT THEIR REPORT TO THE NAC WITHOUT COMMENTS FROMTHE GROUP AS A WHOLE. THE VARIOUS ALLIED DELEGATIONS COULD THN SEND THEIR OWN NATIONAL COMMENTS TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS. IN HIS OWN CASE FRG DEP REP HAD ASKED EXPRESSLY FOR GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. HE HAD OBTAINED THEM WITH THE ONLY PROVISOS BEING THAT THE OUTCOME COULD BE EXPLOITED FOR PUBLIC OPINION PURPOSES AND THAT THE STATEMENTS BE UNCHANGED. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD BEE GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT TO GIVE INDICATIONS

IN THE GROUP OF FRG APPROVAL OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL.

14. ITALIAN REP SADI THAT HE TOO HAD BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION TO INDICATE THAT A FAVORABLE REACTION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING FROM ROME. HE THOUGHT THE REPORT OF THE WESTERN SPOKESMEN COULD EVEN BECOME THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE AD HOC GROUP. BELGIAN REP
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 03016 03 OF 04 121524 Z

FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE TEXT OF WESTERN EMISSARIES' REPORT CLEARLY REFLECT THAT IT WAS THEIR PERSONAL REPORT AND NOT THAT OF THE GROUP. THIS, HE FELT, MIGHT GIVE IT MORE WEIGHT THAT A BRIEF AND WEAKLY WORDED REPORT FROM THE GROUP. ITALIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT EXCESSIVE CONCERN WITH DISTINCTION BETWEEN ALIED REPS AND EMISSARIES WOULD GET GROUP ENTANGLED IN LEGALITIES OF WHETHER NAC COULD ISSUE INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY TO EMISSARIES.

15. UK REP (THOMPOSON) SAID THAT TO HIM THE SCHEME IN THE DRAFT REPORT APPEARED SENSIBLE. HOWEVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS ONLY THE REPORT OF THE WESTERN EMISSARIES. FOR THE GROUP TO ALTER THE REPORT COULD ONLY RESULT IN A DISTORTAION OF THEIR VIEWS. BUT IN ORDER TO ACCEPT THE REPORT OF THE WESTERN SPOKESMEN, HIS OWN AUTHORITIES WOULD HAVE TO DISTORT THEIR VIEWS CONSIDERABLY. THE BEST SOLUTION THEREFORE WAS TO ANNEX THE REPORT OF THE WESTERN EMISSARIES TO A SHORT AD HOC GROUP REPORT. UK REP SAID HE COULD NOT SAY THAT HE WOULD ENDORSE THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE WESTERN EMISSARIES SINCE THEY WERE NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE VIEWS OF HIS AUTHORITIES. IT WAS OF NO USE FOR THE GROUP TO TRY TO ANTICIPATE NAC DECISIONS. A SHORT REPORT CONSISTING OF ONLY TWO PARAGRAPHS MIGHT DO. THE FIRST PARAGRAPH WOULD REPORT THE FACT THAT RECOMMENDATIONS WERE BEING TRANSMITTED IN THE FORM OF AN ANNEX AND THE SECOND PARAGRAPH WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THE GROUP AS A WHOLE DOES NOT SUPPORT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WESTERN EMISSARIES, BELIEVING INSTEAD THAT THE NAC SHOULD DECIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE SITUATION. CANADIAN REP REMINDED GROUP THAT TIMING FOR SUBMISSION OF THE REPORT WILL DEPEND ON WHEN THE SOVIETS CONFIRM THEIR PROPOSAL. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED THAT GROUP COULD CONTRIBUTE TO MAINTAINING THE COHESION OF THE ALIEANCE BY SIMPLY REPOROTING THAT IT WAS TRANSMITTING THE REPORT OF ITS EMISSARIES. IT WAS, HE FELT, PREMATURE TO REVEAL DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AND IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO STATE THEM IN THE COVERING NOTE. US REP COMMENTED THAT FURTHERMORE IT WOULD NOT BE ACCURATE TO PORTRAY THE SITUATION WITHIN THE GROUP IN SUCH A NEGATIVE LIGHT SINCE A CLEAR MAJORITY SUPPORTED RECOMMENDATIONS OF NETHERLANDS AND US REPS.

SECRET

ADP000
SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 03016 04 OF 04 121529 Z

53

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 052314

P R 121352 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8432
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
MBFR CAPITALS 310
USMISSION GENEVA
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USDEL SALT TWO

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 VIENNA 3016

DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

16. UK REP SAID THAT HE WAS NOT ATTEMPTING TO DRAFT THE GROUP'S REPORT AT THIS POINT, BUT SINCE THE REPORT OF THE EMISSARIES WOULD BE SUBMITTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF ALL GROUP MEMBERS, THE GROUP MUST MAKE CLEAR IN ITS COVERING REPORT THAT THERE IS NO IMPLICATION THAT THE UK ACCEPTS THE RECOMMENDATIONS IN IT. US REP SUGGESTED THAT A MINORITY REPORT MIGHT BE USEFUL.

17. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT HE DID NOT HAVE THE SAME STRONG VIEWS HELD BY THE UK REP. IF THE REPORT WERE TO BE UNDERWRITTEN BY THE ENTIRE GROUP, CERTAIN IDEAS MIGHT HAVE TO BE ALTERED, BUT OTHERWISE THE REPORT WAS THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WESTERN EMISSAIRES. IT WOULD BE REGRETTABLE IF THE REPORT WERE CHANGED OR IF IT WERE ACCOMPANIED BY A PAPER SUGGESTING STRONG DISAGREEMENT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 03016 04 OF 04 121529 Z

WITHIN THE GROUP. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE CERTAIN POINTS IN IT WHICH THE GROUP COULD NOT DECIDE AND IT THEREFORE SHOULD BE HANDED TO THE NAC. THESE POINTS INCLUDED DETERMINING WHETHER THE INTERESTS OF FLANK COUNTRIES ARE ADEQUATELY PROTECTED, WHETHER THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENTS ARE SATISFACTORY AND, WHETHER THE RIGHT OF THE ALLIES TO RAISE AND DISCUSS THE STATUS OF HUNGARY LATER ON ADEQUATELY SATISFIES THE NAC INSTRUCTIONS. WHILE IT MAY BE ARTIFICIAL TO RAISE SUCH POINTS IN THE AD HOC GROUP NOW, THESE POINTS WOULD HAVE TO BE RAISED IF THE REPORT WERE BEING SENT AS AN AGREED AD HOC GROUP PAPER. IN BELGIAN REP'S VIEW, THEREFORE, THE REPORT OF THE EMISSARIES SHOULD BE USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF GETTING A GREEN LIGHT FROM THE NAC TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH THE EAST ON THE BASIS SUGGESTED.

18. DANISH REP (POULSEN) SAID THAT HE PREFERRED THE APPROACH ADVOCATED BY THE BELGIAN REP TO THAT PRESENTED BY THE UK REP. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT BUT PERSONALLY SHARES THE VIEWS OF THE TWO EMISSARIES AND WOULD FOLLOW THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS. BELGIAN REP COMMENTED THAT SINCE NO OBJECTIONS HAD BEEN RAISED BY MEMBERS OF AD HOC GROUP DURING THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT SERIES OF PROBES, THEY SHOULD NOT BE BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE NOW.

19. NETHERLANDS REP OFFERED A COMMENT ON THE POINT RAISED BY BELGIAN REP REGARDING THE PROTECTION OF THE WEST'S RIGHT TO RAISE AND DISCUSS HUNGARY. NAC INSTRUCTIONS, HE SAID, HAD ASKED GROUP TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING AN AGENDA ITEM ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION, AND THIS STILL STANDS. TURKISH REP, ADDING TO THE VIEWS OF BELGIAN REP, SAID THAT ONLY THE NAC AND NOT THE AD HOC GROUP CAN DECIDE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE ALLIES. IT WOULD FACILITATE THE DISCUSSION IN THE NAC, HOWEVER, IF POSITIONS COULD BE COORDINATED HERE IN THE AD HOC GROUP.

20. CHAIRMAN THEN CONCLUDED THE MEETING, STATING THAT WHILE NO DECISION ON THE WORDING OF THE REPORT WAS POSSIBLE AT PRESENT, THE MAJORITY OF THE GROUP FOUND THE DRAFT REPORT OF THE EMISSARIES NON-CONTROVERSIAL. CHAIRMAN SAID HIS DELEGATION WOULD PREPARE A DRAFT COVERING NOTE FOR THE EMISSARIES' REPORT AND PROVIDE IT TO THE GROUP AT THE NEXT MEETING AT 1600 HOURS ON APRIL 12.
HUMES

SECRET

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA03016
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730442/aaaaiocg.tel
Line Count: 538
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION MBFR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <22 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980115
Subject: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF APRIL 11
TAGS: PARM
To: GENEVA
MBFR
MBFR CAPITALS 307
SECSTATE WASHDC
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

WASHDC

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005